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"The Father of his Country" is embalmed in the hearts of the people, and the rising generation will have their memories stored with fact and illustration, in relation to his character, by Headley, so that Washington's "memory will be kept green" in tens of

of the work, as it appears monthly in Graham after, will be looked for with an avidity far g

ican public.

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than that which has been manifested for "Abbett Life of Napoleon." How much better and more we

during the session would be of practical bend From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette

thing in his power to advance his students, and no them thorough and accomplished accommants. his extensive acquaintance with the business con-

ing, Writing, Commercial Calculation Law, etc., \$40. Feb. 27 R. S. BA

CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE ! public attention, to raise complex and immate-rial issues, to perplex and bewilder and comfound the People by whom this transaction is to be reviewed. Look again at the vacillation betrayed in the frequent changes of the structure of this apology. At first the recital told us that the eighth section of the Compromise act of 1820 was superseded by the principles of the Compromise laws of 1850—as if any one had ever heard of a supersedeas of one local law by the mere principles of another local law, encounter the supersedeas of the s the mere principles of another local law, enacted for an altogether different region, thirty years afterwards. On another day we were told, by an amendment of the recital, that the Compromise of 1820 was not superseded by the Compromise of 1850 at all, but was only "inconsistent with" it — as if a local act which was irrepealable was now to be abrogated, because it was inconsistent with a sub-sequent enactment, which had no application whatever within the region to which the first enactment was confined. On a third day the meaning of the recital was further and finally elucidated by an amendment, which declared that the first irrepealable act protecting Ne-braska from slavery was now declared "in-operative and void," because it was inconsistent with the present purposes of Congress not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State.

But take this apology in whatever form it may be expressed, and test its logic by a simple

The law of 1820 secured free institutions in the regions acquired from France in 1803, by the wise and prudent foresight of the Congress of the United States. The law of 1850, on the contrary, committed the choice between free and slave institutions in New Mexico and Utah-Territories acquired from Mexico nearly fifty years afterward-to the interested cupidity or the caprice of their earliest and accid occupants. Free Institutions and Slave Insti-tutions are equal, but the interested cupidity of the pioneer is a wiser arbiter, and his judgment a surer safeguard, than the collective wisdom of the American People and the most solemn and time-honored statute of the American Congress. Therefore, let the law of freedom in the territory acquired from France be now annulled and abrogated, and let the fortunes and fate of Freedom and Slavery, in the region acquired from France, be, henceforward and forever, determined by the votes of some seven hundred camp followers around Fort Leavenworth, and ment schoolmasters, and mechanics, who at-tend the Indians in their seasons of rest from hunting in the passes of the Rocky Mountains. Sir, this syllogism may satisfy you and other Senators; but as for me, I must be content to adhere to the earlier system. Stare super antiquas vias.

There is yet another difficulty in this new

theory. Let it be granted that, in order to carry out a new principle recently adopted in New Mexico, you can supplant a compromise in Nebraska, yet there is a maxim of public law which forbids you from supplanting that compromise, and establishing a new system there, until you first restore the parties in interest there to their statu quo before the compromise to be supplanted was established. First, then, remand Missouri and Arkansas back to the unsettled condition, in regard to slavery, which they held before the Compromise of 1820 was enacted, and then we will hear you talk of rescinding that Compromise. You cannot do this. You ought not to do it, if you could; and because you cannot and ought not to do it, you cannot, without violating law, justice, equity, and honor, abrogate the guarantee dom in Nebraska.

erning slavery in the Territo- one. between the same parties, but a mere ordinary emn Compromise of thirty years' duration, to that which hallows the Constitution it-

Can the Compromise of 1850, by a mere the plain, known, fixed intent and understanding of the parties at the time that contract was made, and yet be binding on the parties to it, not merely legally, but in honor and conscience? Can you abrogate a compromise by passing any law of less dignity than a compromise? If so, of what value is any one or the whole of the Compromises? Thus you see that these bills violate both of the Compromises-not more that of 1820 than that of

understood by the parties interested throughout the country, or by either of them, or by any representative of either, in either House of Congress, that the principle then established should extend beyond the limits of the territo-ries acquired from Mexico, into the territories acquired nearly fifty years before, from France, and then reposing under the guarantee of the Compromise of 1820? I know not how Sen ators may rote, but I do know what they will soy. I appeal to the honorable Senator from Michigan, [Mr. Cass.] than whom none performed a more distinguished part in establis ing the Compromise of 1850, whether he so intended or understood. I appeal to the honorable and distinguished Senator, the senior representative from Tennessee, [Mr. Bell.] who performed a distinguished part also. Did he so understand the Compromise of 1850? He is silent. I appeal to the gallant Senator from lilinois? [Mr. Shields.] He, too, is silent. I now throw my gauntlet at the feet of every knew, or thought, or dreamed, that, by enacting the Compromise of 1850, he was directly or indirectly abrogating, or in any degree impairing, the Missouri Compromise? No one takes it up. I appeal to that very distinguished-nay, sir, that expression falls short of his eminence-that illustrious man, the Senator from Missouri, who led the opposition here to the Compromise of 1850. Did he understand that that Compromise in any way overreached or impaired the Compromise of 1820? Sir, that distinguished person, while opposing the combination of the several laws on the subject of California and the Territories, and Slavery, together, in one bill, so as to constitute a Compromise, nevertheless voted for each one of se bills, severally; and in that way, and known or understood that any one of them overreached and impaired the Missouri Compromise, we all know he would be now be needed. Had he lenge. The necessity, reasonableness, justiand wisdom of those Compromises, are not question here new promise, we all know he would have perished before he would have given it his support. Sir, if it was not irreverent, I would dare to

call up the author of both of the Compromises question, from his honored, though yet scarcely grass-covered grave, and challe any advocate of this measure to confront that imperious shade, and say that, in making the Compromise of 1850, he intended or dreamed that he was subverting, or preparing the way 2d. Whether this abrogation can now be made for a subversion of, his greater work of 1820. Sir, if that eagle spirit is yet lingering here over the scene of his mortal labors, and watching welfare of the Republic he loved so well, his heart is now moved with more than bear a seal, as broad and as firmly fixed there human indignation against those who are perverting his last great public act from its legitimate uses, not merely to subvert the column

column that perpetuates his fame.

And that other proud and dominating Senator, who, sacrificing himself, gave the aid fresh, though his unfettered spirit may be wandering in spheres far hence, that he intended to abrogate, or dreamed that, by virtue

Thus much for the report and the bills of the

"I now say, sir, as the proposition upon which I stand this day, and upon the truth and firmness of which I intend to act until it is overthrown, that there is not at this moment in the United States, or any Torritory of the United States, one single foot of land, the character of which, in regard to its being free territory or slave territory, is not fixed by some law, and some IREKPEALABLE law beyond the power of the action of this Government."

What irregalable law or what law of any

What irrepealable law, or what law of any kind, fixed the character of Nebraska as free or slave territory, except the Missouri Compre-And now hear what Daniel Webster said when vindicating the Compromise of 1850, at Buffalo, in 1851:

"My opinion remains unchanged, that it was no "My opinion remains unchanged, that it was not within the original scope or design of the Constitution to admit new States out of foreign territory; and for one, whatever may be said at the Syracuse Convention or any other assemblage of insane persons, I never would consent, and never have consented, that there should be one foot of slave territory beyond what the old thirteen States had at the time of the formation of the Union! Never! Never!

"The man cannot show his face to me and say he can prove that I ever departed from that doctrine. He would sneak away, and slink away, or hire a mercenary press to cry out. What an apostate from Liberty Daniel Webster has become! But he knows himself to be a hypocrite and a falsifier."

That Compromise was forced upon the

That Compromise was forced upon the slayeholding States and upon the non-slaveholding States as a mutual exchange of equiva lents. The equivalents were accurately defined and carefully scrutinized and weighed by the respective parties, through a period of eight months. The equivalents offered to the nonslaveholding States were: 1st, the admission of California; 2d, the abolition of the publi slave trade in the District of Columbia. Thes and these only, were the boons offered to them and the only sacrifices which the slaveholding States were required to make. The waiver o the Wilmot Proviso in the incorporation of New Mexico and Utah, and a new fugitive slave law, were the only boons proposed to the slaveholding States, and the only sacrifices exacted of the non-slaveholding States. No other questions between them were agitated except those which were involved in the gair or loss of more or less of free territory or of slave territory in the determination of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, by a line that was at last arbitrarily made, ex-pressly saving, even in those Territories, to the respective parties, their respective shares of free soil and slave soil, according to the articles of annexation of the Republic of Texas. Again: There were alleged to be five open, bleeding wounds in the Federal system, and no more which needed surgery, and to which the Com-promise of 1850 was to be a cataplasm. We all know what they were: California withou a Constitution; New Mexico in the grasp of military power; Utah neglected; the District of Columbia dishonored; and the rendition of fugitives denied. Nebraska was not even thought of in this catalogue of national ills And now, sir, did the Nashville Convention of secessionists understand that, besides the enumerated boons offered to the slaveholding States, they were to have also the obliteration of the Missouri Compromise line of 1820? If they did, why did they reject and scorn and scout at the Compromise of 1850? Did the Legislatures and public assemblies of the non-slaveholding States, who made your table groan with their remonstrances, understand that Ne

by the cataplasm, the application of which they resisted so long? Again: Had it been then known that the There is still another and not less serious difficulty. You call the Slavery laws of 1850 directly or indirectly, by the Compromise of a compromise between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States. For the purposes of this argument, let it be granted that they were 1850, what Representative from a non-slave voted for it? Not one. What Senator from a slaveholding states. such a compromise. It was nevertheless a compromise concerning slavery in the Territo. So entirely was it then untho the compromise it extended no further. Can Missouri Compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min., you now, by an act which is not a compromise in the region acquired from France, that one half of that long debate was spent on propoforce and obligation of the sitions made by Representatives from slave principles of that Compromise of 1850 into regions not only excluded from it, but absolute through the new territory we had acquired so recently from Mexico, until it should disappear in the waves of the Pacific Ocean, so as to seand invested with a sanctity scarcely inferior cure actual toleration of slavery in all of this new territory that should be south of that line; and these propositions were resisted strenuous-ly and successfully to the last by the Repreordinary act of legislation, be extended beyond sentatives of the non-slaveholding States, in order, if it were possible, to save the whole

braska was an additional wound to be healed

by the Compromise of 1850? If they did,

why did they omit to remonstrate against the healing of that, too, as well as of the other five,

I admit that these are only negative proofs, although they are pregnant with conviction. But here is one which is not only affirmative, but positive, and not more positive than con-

In the fifth section of the Texas Boundary bill, one of the acts constituting the Compro mise of 1850, are these words: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall

be construed to impair or qualify anything contained in the third article of the second section of the joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States, approved March 1, 1845, either as regards the number of States that may hereafter be formed out of the State of Texas, or otherwise." What was that third article of the second

section of the joint resolution for annexing

"New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four "New States, of convenient size, not exceeding four in number, in addition to said State of Texas, having sufficient population, may hereafter, by the consent of said State, be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. And such States as may be formed out of that portion of said territory lying south of 36 deg. 36 min. north latitude, comm. nly known as the Missouri Compromise line, shall be admitted into the Union with or without Slavery, as the poonle of each State asking admission. Stavery, as the people of each State asking admission may desire. And in such State or States as shall be formed out of said territory north of said Missouri Compromise line, slavery or involuntary servitude (except for crime) shall be prohibited."

This article saved the Compromise of 1820. in express terms, overcoming any implication Senator now here, who was in the Senate in 1850, and challenge him to say that he then knew, or thought, or dreamed, that, by enacting the Compromise of 1850; and any inferences to that effect, that might be drawn from any such circumstance as that of drawing the boundary line of Utah so as to trespass on the Territory of Nebraska, dwelt upon by the Senator from Illinois.

The proposition to abrogate the Missour Compromise, being thus stripped of the pre-tence that it is only a reiteration or a reaffirmation of a similar abrogation in the Compromis of 1850, or a necessary consequence of tha measure, stands before us now upon its own merits, whatever they may be. But here the Senator from Illinois challenge:

they were all opponents of the Compromise of 1850, and even of that of 1820. Sir, it is not my purpose to answer in person to this chall The necessity, reasonableness, justice, question here now. My own opinions on them were, at a proper time, fully made known. I abide the judgment of my country and man-kind upon them. For the present, I meet the Committee who have brought this measure forward, on the field they themselves have chosen, and the controversy is reduced to two questions: 1st. Whether, by letter or spirit, the Compromise of 1820 abrogated or involved 2d. Whether this abrogation can now be made consistently with honor, justice, and good faith? As to my right, or that of any other Senator, to enter these lists, the credentials filed in the Secretary's office settle that question. Mine as any other, by a people as wise, as free, and as great, as any one of all the thirty-one Re-

publics represented here.

But I will take leave to say, that an arguoolumn that perpetuates his fame.

And that other proud and dominating Senator, who, sacrificing himself, gave the aid without which the Compromise of 1850 could not have been established—the Statesman of New England, and the Orator of America probation of the policy of compromises only renders one more earnest in exacting fulfilmen

Committee, and for the positions of the parties

And now hear what he said here, when advocating the Compromise of 1850:

"I now say, sir, as the proposition upon which I stand this day, and upon the truth and firmness of which I intend to act until it is overthrown, that there is not at this moment in the United States, one sing; of tot of land, the character of which, in regard to its being free territory or slave territory, is not fixed by some law, and some information and the annoyance, and even from the presence of the white man, and under the paternal care of the Government, and with the instruction of its teachers and mechanics, to acquire the arts of civilization and the habits of social life. I will not say that this was done to prevent that Territory, because denied to slavery, from being occupied by free white labor; but I will say that this removal of the Indians peculiar institutions quite incongruous with will say, that this removal of the Indians there, under such guarantees, has had that effect. The Territory cannot be occupied now, any more than heretofore, by savages and white men, with or without slaves, together. Our experience and our Indian policy alike remove all dispute from this point. Either these preserved ranges must still remain to the Indians hereafter, or the Indians, whatever temporary resistance against removal they may

Where shall they go? Will you bring them them northward, beyond your Territory of Nebraska, towards the British border? That is already occupied by Indians; there is no room there. Will you turn them loose upon Texas and New Mexico? There is no room

Will you drive them over the Rocky mour tains? They will meet a tide of immigration there flowing into California from Europe and from Asia. Whither, then, shall they, the dispossessed, unpitied heirs of this vast continent, go? The answer is, nowhere. If they remain in Nebraska, of what use are you Charters? Of what harm is the Missour Compromise in Nebraska, in that case? Whom doth it oppress? No one. Who, indeed, demands territorial organiza.

tion in Nebraska at all? The Indians? No. It is to them the consummation of a long-ap-prehended doom. Practically, no one demands it. I am told that the whole white population, scattered here and there throughout these broad regions, exceeding in extent the whole of the inhabited part of the United States at the time of the Revolution, is less than fifteen hundred, and that these are chiefly trappers, missionaries, and a few mechanics and agents employed by the Government, in connection with the administration of Indian affairs, and other persons temporarily drawn around the post of Fort Leavenworth. It is clear, then, that this abrogation of the Missouri Compromise is not necessary for the purpose of estab-lishing Territorial Governments in Nebraska, but that, on the contrary, these bills, establishing such Governments, are only a vehicle for carrying, or a pretext for carrying, that act of

abrogation.
It is alleged, that the non-slaveholding States have forfeited their rights in Nebraska, under the Missouri Compromise, by first breaking that Compromise themselves. The argument is, that the Missouri Compromise line of 36 deg. 30 min., in the region acquired from France, although confined to that region which was our westernmost possession, was, never-theless, understood as intended to be prospectively applied also to the territory rea thence westward to the Pacific Ocean, which we should afterwards acquire from Mexico; and that when afterwards, having acquired these Territories, including California, New Mexico, and Utah, we were engaged in 1848 in extending Governments over them, the free States refused to extend that line, on a proposition to that effect made by the honorable Sen-

on. Young America-I mean agg zing, conquering America—had not yet been born; nor was the statesman then in being, who dreamed that, within thirty years afterany one then imagine, that even if we should trict of Columbia, to assume the jurisdiction have done so within the period I have named, here, which you must also renounce. Will we were then prospectively carving up and you do this? We shall see. we were then prospectively carving up and dividing, not only the mountain passes, but the Mexican Empire on the Pacific coast, between Freedom and Slavery. If such a proposition

36 deg. 30 min. beyond the confines of Louisiana, or beyond the then confines of the United States, for the terms are equivalent, then it was no violation of the Missing o acquired possessions of Texas, New Mexico,

But suppose we did refuse to extend it; how did that refusal work a forfeiture of our vested rights under it? I desire to know that. Again: If this forfeiture of Nebraska oc-curred in 1848, as the Senator charges, how does it happen that he not only failed in 1850, when the parties were in court here, adjusting their mutual claims, to demand judgment against the free States, but, on the contrary, even urged that the same old Missouri Compromise line, yet held valid and sacred, should be extended through to the Pacific Ocean?

I come now to the chief ground of the defence of this extraordinary measure, which is, that it abolishes a geographical line of division between the proper fields of free labor and slave labor, and refers the claim between them to the people of the Territories. Even if this great change of policy was actually wise and neces-sary, I have shown that it is not necessary to make it now, in regard to the Territory of Nebraska. If it would be just elsewhere, it would be unjust in regard to Nebraska, simply because, for ample and adequate equivalents, fully received, you have contracted in effect not to abolish that line there.

But why is this change of policy wise or extension of slavery is no evil, or because you have not the power to prevent it at all, or because the maintenance of a geographical line is no longer practicable.

I know that the opinion is sometimes ad-

vanced, here and elsewhere, that the extension of slavery, abstractly considered, is not an evil; but our laws prohibiting the African slave trade are still standing on the statute book, and express the contrary judgment of the American Congress and of the American People. I pass on, therefore, from that point.

Sir, I do not like, more than others, a geographical line between Freedom and Slavery. sible, all our territory free. Since that cannot be, a line of division is indispensable; and any

line is a geographical line.

The honorable and very acute Senator from
North Carolina [Mr. Badgar] has wooed us most persuasively to waive our objections to the new principle, as it is called, of non-intervention, by assuring us that the slaveholder can only use slave labor where the soils and

peculiar institutions quite incongruous with modern Republicanism, not to say Christianity, namely, that of a latitude of construction of the marriage contract, which has been carried by one class of so-called patriarchs into Utah. Cer-tainly, no one would desire to extend that peculiar institution into Nebraska. Thirdly, s holders have also a peculiar institution, which makes them political patriarchs. They reckon five of their slaves as equal to three freemen forming the basis of Federal representation. these patriarchs insist upon carrying their where shall they go? Will you oring them back again across the Mississippi? There is no room for Indians here. Will you send them northward, beyond your Territory of Nebraska, towards the British border? That is already occupied by Indians; there is no room there. Will you turn them loose upon room there. Will you turn them loose upon they do that?

Some Senators have revived the argument that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitu-tional. But it is one of the peculiarities of compromises, that constitutional objections, like all others, are buried under them by those who make and ratify them, for the obvious reason that the parties at once waive them, and receive equivalents. Certainly, the slaveholding States, which waived their constitutional objections against the Compromise of 1820, and accepted equivalents therefor, cannot be allowed to revive and offer them now as a reason for re-fusing to the non-slaveholding States their rights under that Compromise, without first restoring the equivalents which they received on condition of surrendering their constitutional

For argument's sake, however, let this reply be waived, and let us look at this constitutional objection. You say that the exclusion of slavery by the Missouri Compromise reaches through and beyond the existence of the region organized as a Territory, and prohibits slavery FOREVER, even in the States to be organized out of such Territory, while, on the contrary, the States, when admitted, will be sovereign, and and must have exclusive jurisdiction over slavery for themselves. Let this, too, be granted. But Congress, according to the Constitution, "may admit new States." If Congress may admit, then Congress may also refuse to admit. that is to say, may reject new States. The greater includes the less; therefore, Congress may admit, on condition that the States exclude slavery. If such a condition should be accepted, would it not be binding?

It is by no means necessary, on this occasion to follow the argument further to the question, whether such a condition is in conflict with th constitutional provision, that the new States re-ceived shall be admitted on an equal footing with the original States, because, in this case and at present, the question relates not to the admission of a State, but to the organization of a Territory, and the exclusion of slavery with in the Territory while its status as a Territory shall continue, and no further. Congress has power to exclude slavery in Territories, if they have any power to create, control, or govern Territories at all, for this simple reason: that find the authority of Congress over the Territories wherever you may, there you find no exception from that general authority in favor of slavery. If Congress has no authority over argument, that the Missouri Compromise law, slavery in the Territories, it has none in the like any other statute, was limited by the extent of the subject of which it treated. This law of Freedom in Nebraska, in order to estatute. subject was the Territory of Louisiana, acquired from France, whether the same were quired from France, whether the same were consistency requires that you shall also abolish more or less, then in our lawful and peaceful the Slavery laws in the District of Columbia,

and submit the question of the toleration slavery within the District to its inhabitants. has not Kansas. You are calling a Territor who dreamed that, within thirty years after-wards, we should have pushed our adventur-ous way, not only across the Rocky Mountains, but also across the Snowy Mountains. Nor did any one then imagine, that even if we should tried of Columbia.

To come closer to the question: What is this principle of abnegating National authority, on the subject of slavery, in favor of the People? had been made then, and persisted in, we know enough of the temper of 1820 to know this, the Territories? Not at all; you abnegate only viz: that Missouri and Arkansas would have stood outside of the Union until even this portentous day.

The time, for aught I know, may not be thirty years distant, when the convulsions of shall come in whether slave or free, as their in thirty years distant, when the convulsions of the Celestial Empire and the decline of British sway in India shall have opened our way into the regions beyond the Pacific Ocean. I desire to know now and be fully certified of the geographical extent of the laws we are now passing, so that there may be no such mistake hereafter as that now complained of here. We are now confiding to Territorial Legislatures the power to legislate on slavery. Are the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas alone within the purview of these acts? Or do they reach to the Pacific coast, and embrace also Oregon and Washingfic coast, and embrace also Oregon and Washing- Legislature into existence, you exercise an ton? Do they stop there, or do they take in China and India and Affghanistan, even to the may be elected. You even reserve to yourgigantic base of the Himalaya Mountains? Do they stop there, or, on the contrary, do they encircle the earth, and, meeting us again on the Atlantic coast, embrace the islands of Iceland and Greenland, and exhaust themselves on the barren coasts of Greenland and Labrador?

Sir, if the Missouri Compromise neither in its spirit nor by its letter extended the life of the Missouri Compromise neither in the subject of slavery itself. Nor can you relinquish that veto; for it is absurd to say that you can create an agent, and depute to him the legislative authority of the United States, which agent you cannot at your Sir, if the Missouri Compromise neither in united States, which agent you cannot at you its spirit nor by its letter extended the line of own pleasure remove, and whose acts you can

no violation of the Missouri Compromise in that is to supplant the ancient policy—a prin 1848 to refuse to extend it to the subsequently ciple full of absurdities and contradictions. Again: You claim that this policy of abno gation is based upon a democratic principle. A democratic principle is a principle opposed to some other that is despotic or aristocratic. You claim and exercise the power to institute and maintain government in the Territories. Is this comprehensive power aristocratic or des-potic? If it be not, how is the partial power aristocratic or despotic? You retain authority to appoint Governors, without whose consent no laws can be made on any subject, and Judges. without whose consideration no laws can b executed, and you retain the power to change them at pleasure. Are these powers, also, aristocratic or despotic? If they are not, then the exercise of legislative power by yourselves is not. If they are, then why not renounce them also? No, no. This is a far-fetched excuse. Democracy is a simple, uniform, logical system, not a system of arbitrary, contradictory, and conflicting principles!

But you must nevertheless renounce National authority over slavery in the Territories, while you retain all other powers. What is this but a mere evasion of solemn responsibilities? The general authority of Congress over the Territories.

general authority of Congress over the Terri-tories is one wisely confided to the National Legislature, to save young and growing communities from the dangers which beset them in their state of pupilage, and to prevent them from adopting any policy that shall be at war with their own lasting interests, or with the general welfare of the whole Republic. authority over the subject of slavery is which ought to be renounced last of all, in favor of Territorial Legislatures, because, from the very circumstances of the Territories, those ephemeral influences, and interested offers of favor and patronage. They see neither the great Future of the Territories, nor the comensive and ultimate interests of the who Republic, as clearly as you see them, or ought to see them.
I have heard sectional excuses given for

supporting this measure. I have heard Senators from the slaveholding States say that they ought not to be expected to stand by the non-slaveholding States, when they refuse to stand by themselves; that they ought not to be expected to refuse the boon offered to the slaveholding States, since it is offered by the non-slaveholding States themselves. I not only slaveholding States themselves. I not only confess the plausibility of these excuses, but of or in consequence of that transaction, the Missouri Compromise would or could ever be abrogated? The portion of the Missouri Compromise you propose to abrogate is the Ordinate of 1787 extended to Nebraska. Hear what Daniel Webster said of an interest with the state of the contrary, it is listly, in 1830, in this very place, in reply to one who had undervained it and its author:

"I spoke, sir, of the Ordinance of 1787, which as a measure of 1787, which are the manual climates favor the culture of tobacco, cotton, feel the justice of the reproach which they in this debate. A measure so bold, so uncloses the half or milion, measure of them to make them to whose of them them to humble of them the sugar. To which I replace them to whose of the measure of them to make them to whose of them them to make them to make a milion, of freemen from Eagland, or a milion, of freemen from Eagland, the make them to whose of the measure of them to make them to make the make them to

acceptance of the boon. It has been said that the North does not speak out, so as to enable you to decide between the conflicting voices of aggrandized by free labor. American slavery, her Representatives. Are you quite sure you have given her timely notice? Have you not, on the contrary, hurried this measure forward, to anticipate her awaking from the slumber of to anticipate her awaking from the slumber of conscious security into which she has been lulled by your last Compromise? Have you not heard already the quick, sharp protest of the Legislature of the smallest of the non-slaveholding States, Rhode Island? Have you not already heard the deep-toned and earnest protest of the greatest of those States, New York? Have you not already heard remonstrances from the Metropolis, and from the rural districts? Do you doubt that this is only the rising of the agitation that you profess only the rising of the agitation that you profess to believe is at rest forever? Do you forget that, in all such transactions as these, the people have a reserved right to review the acts of their Representatives, and a right to demand a reconsideration; that there is in our legislative practice a form of RE-ENACYMENT, as well as an act of repeal; and that there is in our political system provision not only for abrogation, but for RESTORATION also? And when the process of repeal has begun, how many and what laws will be open to repeal, equally with the Missouri Compromise? There will be this act, the fugitive slave laws, the articles of Texas annexation, the Territorial laws of New Mexico and Utah, the slavery laws in the District of

Senators from the slaveholding States: You

are politicians as well as statesmen. Let me remind you, therefore, that political movements in this country, as in all others, have times of action and reaction. The pendulum moved up the side of freedom in 1840, and swung back again in 1844 on the side of slavery, traversed the dial in 1848, and touched even the mark of the Wilmot Proviso, and returned again in 1852, reaching even the height of the Baltimore Platform. Judge for your-selves whether it is yet ascending, and whether it will attain the height of the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise. That is the mark you are fixing for it. For myself, I may claim to know something of the North. I see in the changes of the times only the vibrations of the needle, trembling on its pivot. I know that in due time it will settle; and when it shall have settled it will point, as it must point forever, to the same constant polar star, that sheds down influences propitious to freedom as broadly as it pours forth its mellow but invigorating light. Mr. President, I have nothing to do, here or elsewhere, with personal or party motives. Bu I come to consider the motive which is publicly assigned for this transaction. It is a desire to secure permanent peace and harmony on the subject of slavery, by removing all occasion for its future agitation in the Federal Legislature. Was there not peace already here? there not harmony as perfect as is ever possible in the country, when this measure was moved in the Senate a month ago? Were we not, and was not the whole nation, grappling with that one great, common, universal interest, the opening of a communication between our ocean rontiers, and were we not already reckoning upon the quick and busy subjugation of nature throughout the interior of the continent to the uses of man, and dwelling with almost rapturous enthusiasm on the prospective enlarge-ment of our commerce in the East, and of our political sway throughout the world? And what have we now here but the oblivion of death covering the very memory of those great

enterprises, and prospects, and hopes?

Senators from the non-slaveholding States You want peace. Think well, I beseech you before you yield the price now demanded, even for peace and rest from slavery agitation. France has got peace from Republican agita-tion by a similar sacrifice. So has Poland; so has Hungary; and so, at last, has Ireland. the peace which either of those nations enjoys worth the price it cost? Is peace, obtained at such cost, ever a lasting peace? Senators from the slaveholding States: You too, suppose that you are securing peace as well as victory in this transaction. I tell you now, as I told you in 1850, that it is an error,

an unnecessary error, to suppose, that because you exclude slavery from these Halls to-day, buried the Wilmot Proviso here then, and cele-brated its obsequies with pomp and revelry. And here it is again to-day, stalking through these Halls, clad in complete steel as before Even if those whom you denounce as factionists in the North would let it rest, you your selves must evoke it from its grave. The reason is obvious. Say what you will, do what you will, here, the interests of the non-slave-holding States and of the slaveholding States remain just the same; and they will remain just the same, until you shall cease to cherish and defend slavery, or we shall cease to honor and love freedom! You will not cease to cherish slavery. Do you see any signs that we are becoming indifferent to freedom? On the contrary, that old, traditional, hereditary sentiment of the North is more profound and more universal now than it ever was before. The slavery agitation you deprecate so much is an eternal struggle between Conservatism and Progress, between Truth and Error, between Right and Wrong. You may sooner, by act of Congress, compel the sea to suppress its upheavings, and the round earth to extinguish its internal fires, than oblige the human mind to cease its inquirings, and the human heart to desist from its throbbings.

Suppose then, for a moment, that this agita-

tion must go on hereafter as heretofore. Then, hereafter as heretofore, there will be need, on both sides, of moderation; and to secure moderation, there will be need of mediation. Hitherto you have secured moderation by means of compromises, by tendering which, the great Mediator, now no more, divided the people of the North. But then those in the North who did not sympathize with you in your com-plaints of aggression from that quarter, as well as those who did, agreed that if compromises should be effected, they would be chivalrously kept on your part. I cheerfully admit that they have been so kept until now. But hereafter, when having taken advantage, which in the North will be called fraudulent, of the last of those compromises, to become, as you will be called, the aggressors, by breaking the other, as will be alleged, in violation of plighted faith and honor, while the slavery agitation is rising higher than ever before, and while your ancient friends, and these whom you persist in record friends, and those whom you persist in regarding as your enemies, shall have been driven to gether by a common and universal sense of your injustice, what new mode of restoring peace and harmony will you then propose? What Statesman will there be in the South, Statesman in the North who can mediate the acceptance of your new proposals? I think it will not be the Senator from Illinois.

If, however, I err in all this, let us suppos that you succeed in suppressing political agita-tion of slavery in National affairs. Neverthe-less, agitation of slavery must go on in some form; for all the world around you is engaged in it. It is, then, high time for you to cons where you may expect to meet it next. I much mistake if, in that case, you do not meet it there where we, who once were slaveholding States, as you now are, have met, and, happily for us, succumbed before it—namely, in the legislative halls, in the churches and schools, and at the fireside, within the States themselves. It is an angel of mercy with which sooner or later every slaveholding State must wrestle, and by which it must be overcome. Even if, by reason of this measure, it should the sooner come to that point, and although I am sure that you will not overcome freedom, but that freedom will over-come you, yet I do not look even then for disastrous or unhappy results. The institutions of our country are so framed, that the inevitable conflict of opinion on slavery, as on every other subject, cannot be otherwise than peaceful in its course and beneficent in its ter

tion.

Nor shall I "bate one jot of heart or hope," in maintaining a just equilibrium of the non-slaveholding States, even if this ill-starred measure shall be adopted. The non-slaveholding States are teeming with an increase of freemen—educated, vigorous, ealightened, enterprising freemen—such freemen as neither England, nor Rome, nor even Athens, ever reared. Half a million of freemen from Europe annually augment that increase; and, ten years hence half a million, twenty years hence

"Man proposes, and God disposes." You may legislate and abrogate and abnegate as you will; but there is a Superior Power that overrules all your actions, and all your refusals to act; and, I fondly hope and trust, overrules them to the advancement of the happiness, greatness, and glory of our country—that overrules, I know, not only all your actions, and all your refusals to act, but all human events, to the distant, but inevitable result of the equal and universal liberty of all men.

S. P. CHASE. CHASE & BALL, Attorneys and Counsellors at Law, Cincinnati, Ohio, practice in the State Courts of Ohio, in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States in Ohio, and in the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington.

Jan. 5

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ELIHU BURRITT says: "Young men, you had bet-

ter buy that book; it costs but little, and it will be worth a hundred dollars to you a year, if you read it in the right way."

Hosts of other recommendations could be added, but the above are sufficient to induce every one who has not read it to obtain it at once.

Published by J. D. Brooks, Salem, Mass.; John P. Jewett & Co., Boston; Jewett, Proctor, & Worthington, Cleveland, Chie; and for sale by the principal booksellers throughout the country. Feb. 20.

Madison, Wisconsin.

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Jan. 5

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a little faster, viz: eight seconds per month, and at the end of 365 days it was found to be fast of Greenwich mean time one minute and fifteen seconds.

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I remain, sir, yours, respectfully,

THOMAS BARTLETT. To Mr. Charles Frodsham.

The undersigned has received the following: BOSTON, October 5, 1853.

Sin: I herewith give you an account of the remarkable performance of the watch I purchased of you, made by Charles Frodsham, No. 7,014. Its total variation for 17 months, by weekly observations, was but one minute and fifty-five seconds.

Yours, respectfully,

BILLINGS BRIGGS. Yours, respectfully, To Mr. Simon Willard. Boston, September 3, 1853.

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CONTENTS. Pooms by George Lunt; 63 cents. Art of Prolonging Life; 75 cents.

Prior's Life of Burke; \$2.

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BOOKS IN PREPARATION. The Barclays of Boston, by Mrs. Harrison Gray Hand Book of Familiar Quetations.

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Atherton—a New Story, by Miss Mitford.

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Memorable Women, by Mrs. Orceland.

Sermons, by Dr. Lowell. The works of Edmund Burke.

A New Work, by Henry Giles.

The Poetical Works of Alice Carey. The Saint's Tragedy, by Charles Kingsley. Bailey's Essays on Opinion and Truth. Feb. 27—3t

Join the Army under Gov. Sharpe, Accepts Brai-dock's Request to act as Volunteer Aid. Is take Sick, Joins the Army, Battle of Monongahela, Brai-ry of Washington, The Retreat, Death of Braddect Washington reads the Funeral Service, Barial by Torch light, Scenes around Fort Duquesne, Donou-acal Jubilee of the Indians, Washington at Meat Vernon, Disgust with the Government, Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia Forces, float No. 223 North Second Street, Philadelphia, WOULD respectfully invite the attention of the Southern and Western merchants, and others, to his large and well-selected stock of Velvet, Tapostry, Brussels, Ingrain, and Venitian Carpets, Floor oil Cloths, Mattings, Hearth Rugs, Door Mats, Stair Rods, &c. Also, to his other store, northwest corner of 8th and Spring Garden streets, under the new of 8th and Spring Garden streets, under the new Spring Garden Hotel. Feb. 27—44. CALVERLEY & HOLMES.

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Among the Mountains, by Frank Porester;
The Beautiful Beggar, by William North;
Mid-Winter Day, by Mary Brotherton;
Life of Brigadier General John Laey, by William
W. H. Davis, A. M.;
Aspen Cour;, by Shirley Brooks;
The Old Homestead, by Ellen Louise Chandler;
Sonnet—Morning, by Wm. Alexander;
Traditions of South Carolina, by A. H. Winslew;
Ot One Gone, by Mark Keeswood; Of One Gone, by Mark Keeswood; The Pond of the Broken Heart, by Mrs. Cushing;
To Melancholy, by W. Herbert;
Legend of the Mystic Muse, by L. Virginia Fronth
The Treasure Restored, by Julia C. R. Darr;
The Maiden's Soliloquy, by Mrs. C. H. Criswell
To Ernest, by E. Anna Lewis;
The Twin Tree, by Sarah Anderton; dote to employ for the distressing and dangerous af fections of the pulmonary organs which are incident to our climate.

Nothing has called louder for the earnest inquiry of medical men, than the alarming prevalence and fatality of consumptive complaints, nor has any one class of diseases had more of their investigation and care. But as yet no adequate remedy had been provided, on which the public could depend for protection from attacks upon the respiratory organs, ustil the introduction of the CHERRY PECTORAL. This article is the product of a long, laborious, and I believe successful endeavor to furnish the community with such a remedy. Of this last statement the American people are now themselves prepared to judge, and I appeal with confidence to their decision. If there is any dependence to be placed in what men of every class and station certify it has done for them; if we can trust our own souses, when we see dangerous af fections of the throat and lungs yield to it; if we can depend on the assurance of intelligent physicians, who make it their business to know; in short, if there is any reliance on anything, then is it irrefutably proven that this medicine does relieve and does cure the class of diseases it is designed for, beyond any and all others that are known to mankind. If this be true, it cannot be too freely published, nor be too widely known. The afflicted should know it. A remedy that cures is priceless to them. Parents should know it: their children are priceless to them. All should know it; for health can be priced to no one. Not only should it be circulated here, but everywhere—not only in this country, but in all countries. How faithfully we have acted on this conviction, is shown in the fact that already this article has made the circle of the globe. The sun never sets on its limits. No continent is without it, and but few peoples. Although not in segment use in other nations Business Matters: Sips of Punch—12 engravings: Graham's Monthly Fashions—6 engravings

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